THE ISLAMIC DYNASTIES

a chronological and genealogical handbook

CLIFFORD
EDMUND
BOSWORTH



EDINBURGH
at the University Press

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS
22 George Square, Edinburgh

First Published 1967
Paperback edition (revised) 1980
ISBN 0 85224 402 9

Printed in Great Britain by
Clark Constable Ltd
Edinburgh

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Arab and Berber troops crossed over the Straits of Gibraltar from Morocco to Spain in 92/711 and speedily overthrew the Visigoths, the Germanic military aristocracy who ruled Spain. During the next decades, they drove the remnants of the Visigoths into the Cantabrian Mts of the extreme north of the Iberian peninsula, and even penetrated across the Pyrenees into Frankish Gaul, until Charles Martel defeated them at Poitiers (or Tours) in 114/732. During these early years, Spain was ruled by a succession of Arab governors sent out from the east, but in 138/756 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān I, later called *ad-Dākhil* 'the Incomer', and one of the few Umayyads to have escaped slaughter in the 'Abbāsid revolution, appeared in Spain and founded the Umayyad Amīrate there.

In a peninsula where the facts of geography militate against central control and firm rule, the establishment of the Umayyads was an achievement indeed. The Amīrate was based on Seville and Cordova, but the Amīrs' hold on the provinces was less secure. Although a good proportion of the Hispano-Roman population became Muslim (the *Muwalladūn*), a substantial number remained Christians (the Mozarabs), and looked to the independent Christian north for moral and religious support. In particular, Toledo, the ancient capital of the Visigoths and the ecclesiastical centre of Spain, was a centre of rebelliousness. Amongst the Muslims, there were many local princes whose military strength as marcher lords enabled them to live virtually independently of the capital Cordova; these flourished above all in the Ebro valley of the north-east, the later Aragon and Catalonia (e.g. the Tujībids of Saragossa and the Banū-Qasī of Tudela). In the later ninth century, there were two centres of prolonged rebellion against the central government, one around Badajoz under Ibn-Marwān the Galician, and the other in the mountains of Granada under Ibn-Ḥafṣūn.

Despite these weaknesses, and despite the continued independence of the petty Christian kingdoms of the north, the Spanish Umayyads made Cordova a remarkable centre of trade and industrial production; and as a home of Arabic culture and learning, it was only inferior to Cairo and Baghdad. The tenth century is dominated by the greatest ruler of the dynasty, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān III, called *an-Nāṣir* 'the Victorious', who

reigned for fifty years (300–50/912–61). He raised the power of the monarchy to a new pitch; court ceremonial was made more elaborate, possibly with Byzantine practice in mind, and 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān countered the pretensions of his enemies the Fāṭimids by himself adopting the titles of Caliph and Commander of the Faithful. The doctrine of orthodox legal theory, that the caliphate was one and indivisible, was thus clearly set aside. The army's strength was built up with fresh Berber recruits from Africa and with slave troops brought from all parts of Christian Europe (the *Ṣaqāliba*). The Christians of the north were humbled and an anti-Fāṭimid policy launched in North Africa. In the last years of the tenth century, real power in the state passed to the *Ḥājib* or chief minister, Ibn-Abi-'Āmir, called *al-Manṣūr* 'the Victorious' (the Almanzor of Christian sources); it was he who captured Barcelona and who sacked the shrine of St James of Compostella in Galicia.

Yet early in the eleventh century, for reasons which still remain rather mysterious, the Umayyad caliphate fell apart. A series of short-lived caliphates alternated with rule by members of the Ḥammūdid family, local rulers of Malaga and later of Algeciras. The Umayyads finally disappeared in 422/1031, and Muslim Spain fell into a period of political fragmentation, in the course of which various local princes and ethnic groups held power (the age of the *Mulūk aṭ-ṭawā'if* or Reyes de Taifas, see p. 14).

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 19–22; Zambaur, 3–4 and Table F.

G. C. Miles, *The coinage of the Umayyads of Spain* (American Numismatic Society, Hispanic Numismatic Series: Monographs, No. 1, New York 1950).

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The Mulūk aṭ-Ṭawā'if in Spain
Eleventh century

The half-century or so between the final collapse of the Umayyad caliphate and the coming of the Almoravids was one of political fragmentation accompanied, however, by great cultural brilliance. A number of local dynasties, enumerated at twenty-three by A. R. Nykl, seized power in the various parts of al-Andalus, some of these being mere city-states, others, like the Afṭasids in the south-west, ruling great tracts of territory. These dynasties were of varying race, reflecting the heterogeneousness of the military classes under the Umayyads and the ethnic tensions and rivalries amongst these groups. Some were pure Arab, like the 'Abbādids of Seville and the Hūdids of Saragossa. Others were Berber like the Miknāsa Afṭasids of Badajoz, the Hawwāra Dhū-n-Nūnids of Toledo (whose original name was the Berber one of Zennūn), and probably the Ḥammūdids of Malaga, even though the latter had become somewhat Arabised by the eleventh century and were tracing their descent through the Moroccan Idrīsids to the caliph 'Alī. Some of the Taifas sprang out of the great influx of troops from Africa which had taken place under al-Manṣūr at the end of the tenth century, such as the Ṣanhāja Berber Zīrids of Elvira; and a group of 'Āmirid clients and descendants of al-Manṣūr flourished in Valencia. In certain places of the south-east, e.g. in Tortosa, Denia, and initially at Valencia, military commanders of Ṣaqlabī origin seized power for a time.

The larger Taifas pursued aggressive policies at the expense of their neighbours. The 'Abbādids expanded almost to Toledo, and to further their designs at one stage resuscitated a man who claimed to be the last Umayyad caliph, Hishām III. Several of the Taifas were quite content to intrigue with or even call in the Christians against their fellow-Muslims; the last Afṭasid, 'Umar al-Mutawakkil, was ready to cede most of the territory he held in Portugal to Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile in return for help against the Almoravids.

Towards the end of the eleventh century, the tide was clearly beginning to flow against the Muslims in Spain. The religious classes reacted against the hedonism and irresponsibility of so

many of the local rulers, and were ready to accept the rule of the puritanical Berber Almoravids; as it happened, the Christians' capture of Toledo in 418/1085 made an appeal to the Almoravids by the 'Abbādid poet-king al-Mu'tamid inescapable.

The most important dynasties amongst the Mulūk aṭ-Ṭawā'if were as follows (for complete details, see Zambaur, 53-7 and Map 1):

Ḥammūdids in Malaga and Algeciras (400-49/1010-57)
'Abbādids in Seville (414-84/1023-91)
Zīrids in Granada (403-83/1012-90)
Banū-Yaḥyā in Niebla (414-43/1023-51)
Banū-Muzayn in Silves, Algarve (419-45/1028-53)
Banū-Razīn in Albarracin, La Sahla (402-c. 500/1011-c. 1107)
Banū-Qāsim in Alpuente (c. 420-85/c. 1029-92)
Jahwarids in Cordova (422-61/1031-69)
Afṭasids or Banū-Maslama in Badajoz (413-87/1022-94)
Dhū-n-Nūnids in Toledo (before 419-78/before 1028-85)
'Āmirids in Valencia (412-89/1021-96)
Banū-Ṣumādiḥ in Almeria (c. 430-80/c. 1039-87)
Tujībids and then Hūdids in Saragossa, Lerida, Tudela, Calatayud, Denia, Tortosa (410-536/1019-1142)
Banū-Mujāhid and Banū-Ghāniya in Majorca (413-601/1022-1205)
Almoravid conquest of Muslim Spain 483/1090

1. Ḥammūdids of Malaga

400/1010 'Alī an-Nāṣir
407/1016 al-Qāsim I al-Ma'mūn, *first reign*
412/1021 Yaḥyā I al-Mu'talī, *first reign*
413/1023 al-Qāsim I, *second reign*
414/1023 Yaḥyā I, *second reign*
427/1036 Idrīs I al-Muta'ayyid
430/1039 Yaḥyā II
430/1039 al-Ḥasan al-Mustanṣir
434/1043 Idrīs II al-'Ālī, *first reign*
438/1046 Muḥammad I al-Mahdī
440/1048 Muḥammad II al-Mu'taṣim
440/1048 al-Qāsim II al-Wāthiq

446/1054	Idrīs III al-Muwaffaq
446/1054	Idrīs II, *second reign*
447-9/1055-7	Muḥammad III al-Musta'lī
	Conquest of the main branch in Malaga by the Zīrids of Granada, and of the cadet branch in Algeciras by the 'Abbādids in 450/1058

[N.B. the above table is based on that in Prieto y Vives (see bibliography), which differs considerably from that in Zambaur, 53-4]

2. 'Abbādids of Seville

414/1023	Muḥammad I b. 'Abbād
433/1042	'Abbād al-Mu'taḍid
461-84/1069-91	Muḥammad II al-Mu'tamid
	Almoravid conquest

3. Jahwarids of Cordova

422/1031	Jahwar
435/1043	Muḥammad ar-Rashīd
450-61/1058-69	'Abd-al-Malik
	'Abbādid conquest

4. Afṭasids of Badajoz

413/1022	'Abdallāh al-Manṣūr
437/1045	Muḥammad al-Muẓaffar
460-87/1068-94	'Umar al-Mutawakkil
	Almoravid conquest

5. Dhū-n-Nūnids of Toledo

?	'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Dhī-n-Nūn
419/1028	Ismā'īl aẓ-Ẓāfir
435/1043	Yaḥyā al-Ma'mūn
467-78/1075-85	Yaḥyā al-Qādir
	Conquest by Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile

6. 'Āmirids of Valencia

412/1021	'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Manṣūr
453/1061	'Abd-al-Malik al-Muẓaffar
457-68/1065-76	*Dhū-n-Nūnid occupation*

468/1076	Abū-Bakr
478/1085	al-Qāḍī 'Uthmān
478-83/1085-90	*Dhū-n-Nūnid Yaḥyā al-Qādir*
483-9/1090-6	al-Qāḍī Ja'far
	Conquest by El Cid and then by the Almoravids

7. Tujībids and Hūdids in Saragossa, etc.

Tujībids		
410/1019	Mundhir I al-Manṣūr	
414/1023	Yaḥyā al-Muẓaffar	
420/1029	Mu'izz-ad-Dawla Mundhir II	
Hūdids		
430/1039	Sulaymān al-Musta'īn	
438/1046	Aḥmad I al-Muqtadir	
474/1081	Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin	
478/1085	Aḥmad II al-Musta'īn	
503/1110	'Imād-ad-Dawla 'Abd-al-Malik	under Almoravid suzerainty
513-36/1119-42	Aḥmad III al-Mustanṣir	under Almoravid suzerainty
	Conquest by Alfonso I el Batallador and Ramiro II of Aragon	

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Zambaur, 53-7; Lane Poole, 23-6.

A. Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas, estudio histórico-numismático de los Musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la Hégira (XI de J.C.)* (Madrid 1926).

G. C. Miles, *Coins of the Spanish Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if* (American Numismatic Society, Hispanic Numismatic Series: Monographs, No. 3, New York 1954).

EI[1] 'Saragossa', 'Tudjīb (Banū)' (E. Lévi-Provençal).

EI[2] ''Abbādids', 'Afṭasids' (E. Lévi-Provençal); 'Dhu'l-Nūnids' (D. M. Dunlop); 'Djahwarids', 'Ḥammūdids' (A. Huici Miranda).

〈6〉

The Naṣrids or Banū-l-Aḥmar
627-897/1230-1492
Granada

629/1232 Muḥammad I al-Ghālib, called Ibn-al-Aḥmar
671/1272 Muḥammad II al-Faqīh
701/1302 Muḥammad III al-Makhlū'
708/1308 Naṣr
713/1313 Ismā'īl I
725/1325 Muḥammad IV
733/1333 Yūsuf I
755/1354 Muḥammad V al-Ghānī, *first reign*
760/1359 Ismā'īl II
761/1360 Muḥammad VI
763/1362 Muḥammad V, *second reign*
793/1391 Yūsuf II
797/1395 Muḥammad VII al-Musta'īn
810/1407 Yūsuf III
820/1417 Muḥammad VIII al-Mutamassik, *first reign*
822/1419 Muḥammad IX aṣ-Ṣaghīr, *first reign*
831/1427 Muḥammad VIII, *second reign*
833/1430 Muḥammad IX, *second reign*
835/1432 Yūsuf IV
835/1432 Muḥammad IX, *third reign*
848/1445 Muḥammad X al-Aḥnaf, *first reign*
849/1445 Yūsuf V, *first reign*
849/1446 Muḥammad X, *second reign*
851/1447 Muḥammad IX, *fourth reign* (854-5/1451-2, in association with Muḥammad XI)
857/1453 or 858/1454 Sa'd al-Musta'īn, *first reign*
867/1462 Yūsuf V, *second reign*
867/1462 Sa'd, *second reign*
868/1464 'Alī, *first reign*
887/1482 Muḥammad XI (Boabdil) *first as sole ruler*
888/1483 'Alī, *second reign*
890/1485 Muḥammad XII az-Zaghall
892-7/1487-92 Muḥammad XI, *second reign*

Spanish conquest

After the Almohads abandoned Spain, most of the Muslim cities fell speedily into the Christians' hands: Cordova fell in 635/1236 and Seville in 646/1248. One Muslim chief of Arab descent, Muḥammad al-Ghālib, managed to gain control of the mountainous and easily-defensible province of Granada, and made the citadel of the town of Granada, known as the Alhambra (*al-Ḥamrā'* 'the red [fortress]'), his centre, agreeing to pay tribute first to Ferdinand I of Castile and then to his successor Alfonso X. The Naṣrid sultans tried to pursue a policy of balance between the Christians and the Marīnids of Fez, whose ambition it was to regain Spain for Islam; but Muslim hopes of successful Marīnid intervention were dashed by Sultan Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī's defeat by Alfonso XI of Castile at the Rio Salado in 741/1340.

Despite its precarious position, Granada remained for two and a half centuries a centre of Muslim civilisation, attracting scholars and literary men from all over the Muslim West. The historian Ibn-Khaldūn served as a diplomatist for Muḥammad VI; and the vizier Lisān-ad-Dīn Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, whose history of Granada is a source of major importance, Naṣrid Granada produced a major literary figure. But the marriage of Ferdinand II of Aragon to Isabella of Castile in 1469 brought about the unification of Christian Spain under one crown, and the prospects for Granada's survival darkened. The Muslims in fact hastened their own end by refusing the customary tribute and by becoming embroiled in internal succession disputes, and in 897/1492 Granada fell to the Christians, the last Naṣrids fleeing to Morocco.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 28-9; Zambaur, 58-9.
L. Seco de Lucena Parades, 'Una rectificación a la historia de los últimos naṣriés', *Al-Andalus*, XVII (1952), 153-63.
idem, 'Más rectificaciones a la historia de los últimos naṣriés: un sultán llamado Muḥammad «el Chiquito»', *Al-Andalus*, XXIV (1959), 275-95.

⟨7⟩
The Idrīsids
172-314/789-926
Morocco

172/789	Idrīs I
177/793	Idrīs II
213/828	Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir
221/836	'Alī I
234/849	Yaḥyā I
?	Yaḥyā II
?	'Alī II
?	Yaḥyā III al-Miqdām
292/905	Yaḥyā IV
310-14/922-6	al-Ḥasan al-Ḥajjām
	Fāṭimid conquest

The Idrīsids were the first dynasty who attempted to introduce the doctrines of Shī'ism, albeit in a very attenuated form, to the Maghrib; until their time, the region had been dominated by the radical equalitarianism of the Khārijīs. Idrīs I was a great-grandson of Caliph 'Alī's son al-Ḥasan, and thus connected with the line of Shī'ī Imāms. He took part in an Alid rising in the Ḥijāz against the 'Abbāsids in 169/786, and was compelled to flee to Egypt and then to North Africa, where the prestige of Alid descent led several Zenāta Berber chiefs of northern Morocco to recognise him as their leader. It seems to have been Idrīs I, and not his son Idrīs II, who began the building of Fez on the site of the old Roman town of Volubilis. It soon became populous, attracting emigrants from Muslim Spain and Ifrīqiyya, and it became the Idrīsids' capital; its rôle as a holy city, home of the *Shorfā'* or privileged descendants of the Prophet's grandsons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, also begins now, and henceforth, the *Shorfā'* are an important factor in Moroccan history (see below, pp. 38-41). The Idrīsid period is also important for the diffusion of Islamic culture over the recently-converted Berber peoples of the interior.

However, during the reign of Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir the Idrīsid dominions became politically fragmented. Their various towns – the Idrīsids' hold in Morocco was essentially on the

towns rather than the countryside – were divided out as appanages to various of Muḥammad's many brothers. The Idrīsids thus fell prey to attacks from their Berber enemies, but in the tenth century a more determined and dangerous foe appeared in the shape of the Fāṭimids. Yaḥyā IV had to recognise the suzerainty of the Mahdī 'Ubaydallāh, and in 309/921 Fez was occupied by a Fāṭimid army. After this time, the rule of various other branches of the Idrīsids survived in outlying parts of Morocco, from Tamdult in the south to the home of the Ghomāra Berbers in the Rīf of northern Morocco, but the history of these lines is very obscure. The Idrīsids of the Rīf were threatened when the Spanish Umayyads initiated a forward policy in the Maghrib (*sc.* North Africa, 'the Western land') against their Fāṭimid enemies and seized Ceuta; and in 363/974 the last Idrīsids were carried off to Cordova. In the period of Umayyad decadence some three or four decades later, a distant branch of the Idrīsid family, the Ḥammūdids, obtained control of Algeciras and Malaga, and ruled there as one of the Taifas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY, Lane Poole, 35; Zambaur, 65 and Table A.

H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc des origines à l'établissement du Protectorat français* (Casablanca 1949–50), I.

⟨8⟩

The Rustamids

160–296/777–909

Western Algeria

160/777	'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Rustam
168/784	'Abd-al-Wahhāb (or 'Abd-al-Wārith) b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān
208/823	Abū-Sa'īd Aflaḥ
258/872	Abū-Bakr b. Aflaḥ
?	Abū-l-Yaqẓān Muḥammad
281/894	Abū-Ḥātim Yūsuf, *first reign*
284/897	Ya'qūb b. Aflaḥ
288/901	Abū-Ḥātim Yūsuf, *second reign*
294–6/907–9	Yaqẓān b. Muḥammad
	Capture of Tāhart by the Fāṭimid Dā'ī *Abū-'Abdallāh*

The Rustamids have an importance for the history of North African Islam quite disproportionate to the duration and extent of their political power. In the eighth century, the majority of the Berbers of North Africa adopted the radical, equalitarian religio-political sect of Khārijism as a protest against domination by their orthodox Arab masters. Whereas in the east, Khārijism was an extremist, savagely violent minority sect, in the west it was a mass movement and therefore more moderate. The Khāriji sub-sect of the Ibāḍiyya, the followers of one 'Abdallāh b. Ibāḍ, had their original North African centre amongst the Zenāta Berbers of the Jebel Nefūsa in modern Tripolitania. After a temporary occupation of Qayrawān, the centre of orthodoxy and Arab power in the Maghrib, a group of Ibāḍiyya fled to western Algeria under the leadership of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Rustam, whose name would show Persian descent, and founded a Khāriji principality centred on Tāhart or Tīhart (modern Tiaret) (144/761). In 160/777 he became Imām of all the Ibāḍiyya in North Africa. This nucleus around Tāhart was linked with the Ibāḍī communities of the Aurès, southern Tunisia and Tripolitania, and groups as far south as the Fezzān oasis acknowledged the spiritual headship of the Rustamid Imāms. Surrounded as they were by enemies, the

Shīʿī Idrīsids on the west and the Sunnī Aghlabids on the east, the Rustamids sought the alliance of the Spanish Umayyads, and received subsidies from them. But the rise of the Shīʿī Fāṭimids in Morocco was fatal for the Rustamids, as for other local dynasties of the Maghrib. In 296/909 Tāhart fell to the Ketāma Berbers of the Fāṭimid *Dāʿī* or propagandist, Abū-ʿAbdallāh; many of the Rustamids were massacred, and the rest fled southwards to Wargla.

Tāhart under the Rustamids enjoyed a great material prosperity, being the northern terminus of one of the trans-Saharan caravan routes, and it acquired the name of 'Little Iraq'. It attracted a cosmopolitan population, amongst whom were appreciable Persian and Christian elements, and was a centre of scholarship. Its great historical rôle was as a rallying-point and nerve-centre for Khārijism throughout North Africa and even beyond; although it succumbed politically to the Fāṭimids, the Ibāḍī doctrines long remained potent in the Maghrib, and have indeed survived to this day in a few places like the Mzāb oasis in Algeria, the Tunisian island of Jerba, and in the Jebel Nefūsa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Zambaur, 64; EI[1] 'Rustamids' (G. Marçais).
Chikh Békri, 'Le Kharijisme berbère: quelques aspects du royaume rustumide', *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, XV (Algiers 1957), 55-108.

⟨9⟩
The Aghlabids
184-296/800-909
Ifriqiyya, Algeria, Sicily

184/800 Ibrāhīm I b. al-Aghlab
197/812 'Abdallāh I
201/817 Ziyādat-Allāh I
223/838 Abū-'Iqāl al-Aghlab
226/841 Muḥammad I
242/856 Aḥmad
249/863 Ziyādat-Allāh II
250/863 Abū-l-Gharānīq Muḥammad II
261/875 Ibrāhīm II
289/902 'Abdallāh II
290-6/903-9 Ziyādat-Allāh III
Fāṭimid conquest

Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab's father was a Khurasanian officer in the 'Abbāsid army, and in 184/800 the son was granted the province of Ifriqiyya (modern Tunisia) by Hārūn ar-Rashīd in return for an annual tribute of 40,000 dinars. The grant involved considerable rights of autonomy, and the great distance of North Africa from Baghdad ensured that none of the Aghlabids were much disturbed by the caliphal government. The first Aghlabids suppressed outbreaks of Berber Khārijism in their territories, and then under Ziyādat-Allāh I, one of the most capable and energetic members of the family, the great project of the conquest of Sicily from the Byzantines was begun in 217/827. An extensive corsair fleet was launched, making the Aghlabids supreme in the central Mediterranean and enabling them to harry the coasts of southern Italy, Sardinia, Corsica, and even of the Maritime Alps. Malta was captured in 255/868. It is probable that the conquest of Sicily was begun in order to divert fanatical energies into *jihād* against the infidels, for the early Aghlabids had had to cope with strong internal opposition in Ifriqiyya from the Mālikī *fuqahā'* or religious leaders in Qayrawān (Cairouan). By 264/878 the conquest of Sicily was virtually complete, and the island remained under Muslim rule, at first under Aghlabid and then under Fāṭimid governors, until

the Norman conquest of the later eleventh century, forming an important centre for the diffusion of Islamic culture to Christian Europe. The Aghlabids were also enthusiastic builders; Ziyādat-Allāh I rebuilt the Great Mosque of Qayrawān, and Aḥmad that of Tunis, and useful agricultural and irrigation works were constructed, especially in the less fertile south of Ifriqiyya.

However, the Aghlabids' position in Ifriqiyya deteriorated towards the end of the ninth century. The Shī'ī propaganda of Abū-'Abdallāh, the precursor of the Fāṭimid Mahdī 'Ubaydallāh, had a powerful effect amongst the Ketāma Berbers; this burst out into a military rising, and the last Aghlabid Ziyādat-Allāh III was driven out to Egypt in 296/909, after fruitless attempts to secure help from the 'Abbāsids.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 36-8; Zambaur, 67-8.
EI² 'Aghlabids' (G. Marçais).

⟨10⟩
The Zīrids and Ḥammādids
361-547/972-1152
Ifriqiyya and eastern Algeria

1. Zīrids

361/972	Yūsuf Buluggīn I b. Zīrī
373/984	al-Manṣūr b. Buluggīn
386/996	Nāṣir-ad-Dawla Bādīs
406/1016	Sharaf-ad-Dawla al-Mu'izz
454/1062	Tamīm
501/1108	Yaḥyā
509/1116	'Alī
515-43/1121-48	al-Ḥasan
	Norman and then Almohad conquest

2. Ḥammādids

405/1015	Ḥammād b. Buluggīn I b. Zīrī
419/1028	al-Qā'id
446/1054	Muḥsin
447/1055	Buluggīn II
454/1062	an-Nāṣir
481/1088	al-Manṣūr
498/1105	Bādīs
498/1105	al-'Azīz
515 *or* 518-47/ 1121 *or* 1124-52	Yaḥyā
	Almohad conquest

The Zīrids were Ṣanhāja Berbers inhabiting the central part of the Maghrib, who early identified themselves with the Fāṭimid cause, bringing military relief to the Fāṭimid capital al-Mahdiyya when in 334/945 it was besieged by the Khārijī rebel Abū-Yazīd. Accordingly, when the Fāṭimid caliph, al-Mu'izz, left for Egypt, he appointed Buluggīn b. Zīrī governor of Ifriqiyya. The latter kept up the traditional enmity of his people with the nomadic Zenātas, and overran all the Maghrib as far as Ceuta. These possessions proved too unwieldy for one man to govern, and under Buluggīn's grandson Bādīs a *divisio imperii* was made: the western regions went to the Ḥammādid

branch of the family, and these made their capital at Qal'at Banī-Ḥammād, whilst the Zīrid main branch retained Ifriqiyya with its capital Qayrawān.

The rich resources and wealth of Ifriqiyya tempted the Zīrid al-Mu'izz to rebel against his Fāṭimid overlords, and in 433/1041 he transferred his allegiance to the 'Abbāsids (the Ḥammādids, however, remained faithful to the Fāṭimids at this time). Hence shortly afterwards, the Fāṭimids released against the Zīrids bands of unassimilated, barbarian Bedouins of the Hilāl and Sulaym tribes, who migrated from Lower Egypt to the Maghrib. These Arabs gradually worked their way across the countryside, terrorising the towns, and forcing the Zīrids to evacuate Qayrawān for al-Mahdiyya on the coast and the Ḥammādids to withdraw to the less accessible port of Bougie. Having lost control of the land, they now turned to the sea and built up a fleet; it is, indeed, this period which inaugurates the age of the Barbary corsairs. But they were unable to prevent Muslim Sicily falling to the Normans, even though peaceful commercial relations were later established with the Norman kings. However, in the twelfth century, the Zīrids were hard pressed; Roger II of Sicily captured al-Mahdiyya and the Tunisian coast, forcing al-Ḥasan to pay tribute, and soon afterwards the Zīrid and Ḥammādid territories passed to the Almohads.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 39-40; Zambaur, 70-1.
EI[1] 'Zīrids' (G. Marçais).
H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides X^e-XIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris 1962), with detailed genealogical and chronological tables, making many corrections to Zambaur.

⟨11⟩

The Almoravids or al-Murābiṭūn

448-541/1056-1147

North Africa and Spain

?	Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm	chiefs of the Ṣanhāja
?	Yaḥyā b. 'Umar	Berbers recognising
448-80/1056-73	Abū-Bakr	the spiritual authority
	al-Lamtūnī	of 'Abdallāh b. Yāsīn
453/1061	Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn	
500/1106	'Alī	
537/1142	Tāshufīn	
540/1146	Ibrāhīm	
540-1/1146-7	Is'ḥāq	
	Almohad conquest	

The Almoravids arose from one of the waves of spiritual exaltation which have at various times in the history of the Maghrib come over the Berber peoples. In the early part of the eleventh century, the Ṣanhāja chief Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm made the Pilgrimage to Arabia; he became filled with enthusiasm, and on his return invited a noted Moroccan scholar, 'Abdallāh b. Yāsīn, to work amongst his people. A *ribāṭ* or fortress was built at the mouth of the Senegal River, and from here warriors for the faith spread a simple, fundamentalist form of Islam through the western Sudan. These warriors were known as *Murābiṭūn*, literally 'those dwelling in the frontier fortresses', and the term has given us the Spanish form *Almoravides* and the French word *marabout* 'holy man, local saint'. These Berbers of the desert wore veils over their faces, as do their modern descendants of the Tuaregs, and were hence also known as *al-Mutalaththimūn* 'the veiled ones'. Led by Abū-Bakr and his lieutenant Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, they moved northwards against Morocco and conquered North Africa as far as Algiers. Yūsuf now founded Marrākesh as his capital (454/1062). The Almoravids recognised the 'Abbāsid caliphs as spiritual heads of Islam, and followed the conservative Mālikī law school, dominant in Muslim North Africa.

Muslim Spain was at this time in the fragmented condition of the age of the *Mulūk aṭ-Ṭawā'if*, and now that the Christian

Reconquista was beginning, it became clear that only the rising power of the Almoravids could save the divided and squabbling princelings there. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn crossed over from Africa in 479/1086 and won a great victory over Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile at Zallāqa near Badajoz, which, however, he regrettably failed to follow up, and Toledo remained in Christian hands. Over the next few years, Yūsuf suppressed almost all the Taifas, only the Hūdids being allowed to remain in Saragossa. But in the early years of the twelfth century, the Almoravid position in the Maghrib was threatened by the rise there of a fresh power, that of the Almohads (see pp. 30-1); it was because of this pressure in the rear that the Almoravids were unable to save Saragossa from the Christians in 512/1118. In 541/1147 the last Almoravid ruler in Marrākesh, Is'ḥāq, was killed, and the Almohads began crossing to Spain. When the last Almoravid governor in Spain, Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya, whose family was related by marriage to the Almoravids, died in 543/1148, their power was ended, but the post-Almoravid line of the Banū-Ghāniya continued in Majorca from its conquest in 509/1115 till the Aragonese occupation of 625/1228, and in Minorca as vassals of Aragon till 685/1286.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 41-4; Zambaur, 73-4.
EI[1] 'Almoravids' (A. Bel).
EI[2] 'Ghāniya, Banū' (G. Marçais).

⟨12⟩

The Almohads or al-Muwaḥḥidūn

524-667/1130-1269

North Africa and Spain

	Muḥammad b. Tūmart, d. 524/1130
524/1130	'Abd-al-Mu'min
558/1163	Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf I
580/1184	Abū-Yusūf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr
595/1199	Muḥammad an-Nāṣir
611/1214	Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf II al-Mustanṣir
620/1224	'Abd-al-Wāḥid I al-Makhlū'
621/1224	Abū-Muḥammad 'Abdallāh al-'Ādil
624/1227	Yaḥyā al-Mu'taṣim
626/1229	Abū-l- 'Alā' Idrīs al-Ma'mūn
630/1232	Abū-Muḥammad 'Abd-al-Wāḥid II ar-Rashīd
640/1242	Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī- as-Sa'īd al-Mu'taḍid
646/1248	Abū-Ḥafs 'Umar al-Murtaḍā
665-7/1266-9	Abū-l-'Ulā al-Wāthiq
	Christian conquest of all Spain except Granada; North African lands divided amongst 'Abd-al-Wādids, Ḥafṣids and Marīnids

The Almohads (from *al-Muwaḥḥidūn* 'those who affirm God's unity') represented, intellectually, a protest against the rigidly conservative and legalistic Mālikism prevalent in North Africa and against the social laxity of life under the later Almoravids. Their founder, the Berber Ibn-Tūmart, had studied in the east and had acquired ascetic, reforming views. After receiving the homage of the Maṣmūda Berber chiefs of Morocco, he put himself at the head of a mass movement, proclaiming himself the Mahdī or Promised Charismatic Leader. His lieutenant, 'Abd-al-Mu'min, later styled himself Ibn-Tūmart's caliph or representative. The Almohads gradually took over Morocco, extinguishing the Almoravids there and making Marrākesh their own capital. In Spain, there was a vacuum of power after the decline of the Almoravids, in which some local groups like the Taifas of the previous century reappeared (e.g. in Valencia,

Cordova and Murcia); then in 540/1145 'Abd-al-Mu'min despatched an army to Spain and soon occupied all the Muslim territory there. A powerful Almohad kingdom, now with its capital at Seville, was constituted; 'Abd-al-Mu'min conquered as far as Tunis and Tripoli, and the Ayyūbid Saladin sought his alliance and naval assistance against the Franks. The structure of the Almohad state reflected the Messianic, authoritarian nature of Ibn-Tūmart's original teaching, and was built round a close-knit hierarchy of the caliph's advisers and intimates. The court was a splendid centre of art and learning, above all for the last flowering of Islamic philosophy associated with such scholars as Ibn-Ṭufayl and Ibn-Rushd (Averroes), both of whom acted as court physicians to the Almohad sultans.

Yet the Almohads could not hold up the Christian advance permanently. A victory at Alarcos in 591/1195 had no lasting effect, and the catastrophic defeat of Las Navas de Tolosa in 609/1212 at the hands of a coalition of the Christian kings of the peninsula, resulted in the withdrawal of the Almohads from Spain altogether. The last sultans reigned only in North Africa, but there too their grip began to loosen. The rising of Yaghamrāsan b. Zayyān at Tlemcen in 633/1236 led to the foundation there of the independent 'Abd-al-Wādid dynasty; and in the next year, Abū-Zakariyā' Yaḥyā, the governor of Ifriqiyya, proclaimed his independence in Tunis and founded the dynasty of the Ḥafṣids. Finally, the Almohad capital Marrākesh itself fell to the Marīnids in 667/1269.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 45-7; Zambaur, 73-4.
EI[1] 'Almohads' (A. Bel).
A. Huici Miranda, *Historia política del imperio Almohade*, 2 vols. (Tetuan 1956-7).

⟨13⟩

The Marīnids and Waṭṭāsids
592-956/1196-1549
Morocco

1. Line of Marīnids

592/1196 Abū-Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq I
614/1217 'Uthmān I
637/1240 Muḥammad I
642/1244 Abū-Yaḥyā Abū-Bakr
656/1258 Abū-Yūsuf Ya'qūb
685/1286 Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf
706/1307 Abū-Thābit 'Āmir
708/1308 Abū-r-Rabī' Sulaymān
710/1310 Abū-Sa'īd 'Uthmān II
732/1331 Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī I
749/1348 Abū-'Inān Fāris
759/1359 Muḥammad II as-Sa'īd
760/1359 Abū-Sālim 'Alī II
762/1361 Abū-'Umar Tāshufīn
763/1361 'Abd-al-Ḥalīm (at first in Fez, then in Sijilmāsa)
763/1362 Abū-Zayyān Muḥammad III
768/1366 Abū-l-Fāris 'Abd-al-'Azīz I
774/1372 Abū-Zayyān Muḥammad IV
776/1374 Abū-l-'Abbās Aḥmad, *first reign*
786/1384 Mūsā
788/1386 Abū-Zayyān Muḥammad V
788/1386 Muḥammad VI
789/1387 Abū-l-'Abbās Aḥmad, *second reign*
796/1393 Abū-l-Fāris
799/1397 'Abd-al-'Azīz II
800/1398 'Abdallāh
801/1399 Abū-Sa'īd 'Uthmān III
823-31/1420-8 interregnum of the Zayyānid or 'Abd-al-Wādid of Tlemcen, Abū-Malik 'Abd-al-Wāḥid
831-69/1428-65 Abū-Muḥammad 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq II

2. Line of Waṭṭāsids

831/1428	Abū-Zakariyā' Yaḥyā	Regents for the Marīnid 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq II
852/1448	'Alī	
863/1459	Muḥammad I ash-Shaykh	
875/1470	Muḥammad II al-Burtuqālī	
931/1525	Aḥmad, *first reign*	
952/1545	Muḥammad III al-Qasrī	
954-6/1547-9	Aḥmad, *second reign*	
	Sa'dī Sharīfs	

The Marīnids succeeded to the heritage of the Almohads in Morocco and the central Maghrib, dividing up their territories with the Ḥafṣids of Tunisia. The Banū-Marīn were a tribe of the nomadic Zenāta Berbers; their cultural level was probably low, and they were uninspired in their bid for power by any of the religious enthusiasm which had given driving power to the conquests of the Almoravids and Almohads. These facts, together with what seem to have been comparatively small numbers, doubtless account for the protracted nature of their struggles with the last Almohads. They first invaded Morocco from the Sahara in 613/1216, but were halted by the Almohad Abū-Sa'īd and did not secure Marrākesh till 669/1269 and Sijilmāsa till four years later.

Established with their capital at Fez, the Marīnids acquired a strong sense of being heirs to the Almohads, and attempted to rebuild their empire in the Maghrib. They were also inspired with the spirit of *jihād* and dreamed of the reconquest of Spain; the Marīnid period does, indeed, see a great growth of maraboutism and popular religious fervour. Several Marīnid sultans fought personally in Spain. Abū-Yusūf Ya'qūb crossed over in answer to an appeal from the Naṣrids of Granada and won the battle of Ecija in 674/1275. After the Spanish capture of Gibraltar in 709/1309, Marīnid troops again appeared in Spain, but Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī was routed at the Rio Salado in 741/1340 by the forces of Alfonso XI of Castile and Alfonso IV of Portugal, and the Marīnids never again tried to interfere in Spain. In North Africa, the Marīnids wore down their neighbours the 'Abd-al-Wādids of Tlemcen, occupying their capital

in 737/1337 and at later dates, but they were unable to dislodge the Ḥafṣids from Tunisia.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the decline of the Marīnids began to be apparent. In 803/1401 Henry III of Castile attacked Tetuan and in 818/1415 the Portuguese took Ceuta, and this Christian aggressiveness caused a great wave of religious sentiment in the Maghrib and calls for *jihād* against the infidels. This reaction facilitated the assumption of *de facto* power by the Banū-Waṭṭās, a collateral branch of the Marīnids who had already attained high office under the sultans. Abū-Zakariyā' Yaḥyā at first ruled as regent for the young Marīnid 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq II, and set to work combatting the Portuguese. 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq tried in 862/1458 to rule directly, but was assassinated seven years later. The Waṭṭāsid Muḥammad I ash-Shaykh was proclaimed sultan in Fez in 877/1472, seizing the city from the Idrīsid *Shorfā'*. But the later Waṭṭāsids were unable to withstand the growing power of the Sa'dī Sharīfs, who finally occupied Fez in 956/1549; an attempted Waṭṭāsid revanche with Ottoman Turkish help failed, and the dynasty was permanently extinguished.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 57-9; Zambaur, 79.
EI[1] 'Merinids' (G. Marçais), 'Waṭṭāsids' (E. Lévi-Provençal).
H. de Castries, ed., *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845*, Series I, *Dynastie Saadienne 1530-1660*, Vol. IV, Part I (Paris-Madrid 1921), with detailed genealogical table of the Waṭṭāsids at pp. 162-3.
H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, II.

⟨14⟩

The Ḥafṣids

625–982/1228–1574

Tunisia and eastern Algeria

625/1228 Abū-Zakariyā' Yaḥyā I
647/1249 Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad I al-Muntaṣir
675/1277 Abū-Zakariyā' Yaḥyā II al-Wāthiq
678/1279 Abū-Is'ḥāq Ibrāhīm I
681/1282 usurpation of Aḥmad b. Abī-'Umāra
683/1284 Abū-Ḥafṣ 'Umar I (in Tunis)
684/1285 Abū-Zakariyā' Yaḥyā III al-Muntakhab (in Bougie and Constantine till 689/1299)
694/1295 Abū-'Abdallāh (or Abū-'Aṣīda) Muḥammad II al-Muntaṣir
709/1309 Abū-Yaḥyā Abū-Bakr I ash-Shahīd
709/1309 Abū-l-Baqā' Khālid I an-Nāṣir
711/1311 Abū-Yaḥyā Zakariyā' I al-Liḥyānī (in Tunis)
717/1317 Abū-Ḍarba Muḥammad III al-Mustanṣir al-Liḥyānī (in Tunis)
718/1318 Abū-Yaḥyā Abū-Bakr II al-Mutawakkil
747/1346 Abū-Ḥafṣ 'Umar II
748/1348 first Marīnid occupation of Tunis
750/1349 Abū-l-'Abbās Aḥmad I al-Faḍl al-Mutawakkil (in Tunis)
750/1350 Abū-Is'ḥāq Ibrāhīm II al-Mustanṣir, *first reign*
758/1357 second Marīnid occupation of Tunis
758/1357 Abū-Is'ḥāq Ibrāhīm II, *second reign* (in Tunis till 770/1369; other Ḥafṣid princes in Bougie and Constantine)
770/1369 Abū-l-Baqā' Khālid II (in Tunis)
772/1370 Abū-l-'Abbās Aḥmad II al-Mustanṣir (previously in Bougie and Constantine)
796/1394 Abū-Fāris 'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Mutawakkil
837/1434 Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad IV al-Muntaṣir

839/1435 Abū-'Umar 'Uthmān
893/1488 Abū-Zakariyā' Yaḥyā IV
894/1489 'Abd-al-Mu'min
895/1490 Abū-Yaḥyā Zakariyā' II
899/1494 Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad V
al-Mutawakkil
932/1526 Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥasan,
first reign
941/1534 first Turkish conquest of Tunis by
Khayr-ad-Dīn Barbarossa
942/1535 al-Ḥasan, *second reign* (as vassal of the
Emperor Charles V)
950/1543 Aḥmad III
977/1569 second Turkish conquest of Tunis by
'Ulūj 'Alī
981/1573 Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad VI
(as a vassal of Spain)
982/1574 third and definitive Turkish conquest of
Tunis by Sinān Pasha

The Ḥafṣids, the most important dynasty in the history of late mediaeval Ifriqiyya, derived their name from Shaykh Abū-Ḥafṣ 'Umar (d. 571/1176), a disciple of the founder of the Almohad movement, Ibn-Tūmart, and one of 'Abd-al-Mu'-min's generals. His offspring filled various important offices under the Almohads, including the governorship of Ifriqiyya. One of these Ḥafṣid governors, Abū-Zakariyā' Yaḥyā I, in 634/1237 threw off the authority of the Almohad caliph, 'Abd-al-Wāḥid, alleging as a pretext for this the latter's unorthodox innovations. He now expanded westwards into the central Maghrib, taking Constantine, Bougie, and Algiers, making the 'Abd-al-Wādids of Tlemcen his tributaries, compelling the Marīnids to acknowledge him and receiving appeals for help from the beleaguered Muslims of southern Spain. The power of the Ḥafṣids was equally great under his son al-Muntaṣir, who repelled the attack of Louis IX of France and Charles of Anjou (668/1270) and assumed the titles of Caliph and *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, obtaining these titles from the Sharīf of Mecca and claiming to be the heir of the Baghdad 'Abbāsids.

The century and a half after al-Muntaṣir's death was filled

with violent fluctuations in Ḥafṣid power and stability, with the towns of the central Maghrib and of southern Ifriqiyya and the Jarīd region there tending to throw off Ḥafṣid control during periods of weak rule. At times there were several contestants for the Ḥafṣid throne, with claimants ruling in various towns. In the sixteenth century, the dynasty was in clear decline, their authority often being limited to the region of Tunis itself. The establishment of the Turks in Algiers and other ports, and the Ḥafṣids' inability to control these corsair depredations, invited attacks and reprisals by the Christians. The Emperor Charles V planted a Spanish garrison at Tunis in 941/1535. The last Ḥafṣids retained a precarious authority with Spanish help against the Turks, but in 981/1574 Sinān Pasha finally took Tunis, and the last Ḥafṣid was carried off captive to Istanbul.

Tunis under the Ḥafṣids enjoyed a great resurgence in prosperity. Before the disruptive activity of the Barbary corsairs caused a deterioration in relations, the Ḥafṣids had extensive commercial treaties with the Italian and southern French towns and with Aragon. The land benefited also from the influx of Spanish Muslim refugees (amongst whom were the historian Ibn-Khaldūn's forebears). Tunis became a great artistic and intellectual centre, and it was the Ḥafṣids who in the thirteenth century introduced the madrasa system of education previously known in the lands to the east.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 49-50, 52-3; Zambaur, 74-6.
EI² 'Ḥafṣids' (H. R. Idris).
R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides des origines à la fin du XVe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris 1940-7).

⟨15⟩
The Sharifs of Morocco
917- /1511-

1. Sa'dīs

917/1511	Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Qā'im-bi-amr-Allāh (in Sūs)	
923/1517	Aḥmad al-A'raj (in Marrākesh till 947/1540)	
923/1517	Muḥammad ash-Shaykh al-Mahdī b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī (at first in Sūs, later in Fez)	
964/1557	'Abdallāh al-Ghālib	
981/1574	Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil al-Maslūkh	
983/1576	'Abd-al-Malik b. Muḥammad ash-Shaykh al-Mahdī	
986/1578	Aḥmad al-Manṣūr	
1012-17/1603-8	Muḥammad ash-Shaykh al-Ma'mūn	sons of Aḥmad, in rivalry for the succession
1012-17/1603-8	'Abdallāh al-Wāthiq (in Marrākesh)	
1012-39/1603-28	Zaydān an-Nāṣir (at first, in Fez only)	
1034/1623	'Abd-al-Malik b. Zaydān	in Marrākesh only
1042/1631	al-Walīd	
1045/1636	Muḥammad al-Aṣghar	
1064-9/1654-9	Aḥmad al-'Abbās	

2. Filālīs

1041/1631	Muḥammad I ash-Sharīf (in Tāfilālt)
1045/1635	Muḥammad II b. Muḥammad
1075/1664	ar-Rashīd
1082/1672	Ismā'īl as-Samīn
1139/1727	Aḥmad adh-Dhahabī
1141/1729	'Abdallāh
1147-58/1735-45	*'Abdallāh's power contested by various usurpers and pretenders*
1171/1757	Muḥammad III b. 'Abdallāh
1204/1790	Yazīd
1206/1792	Hishām

1207/1793	Sulaymān
1238/1822	'Abd-ar-Raḥmān
1276/1859	Muḥammad IV b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān
1290/1873	al-Ḥasan I b. Muḥammad
1312/1895	'Abd-al-'Azīz
1325/1907	al-Ḥāfiẓ
1330/1912	Yūsuf
1345/1927	Muḥammad V b. Yūsuf, *first reign*
1372/1953	Muḥammad b. 'Arafa
1375/1955	Muḥammad V, *second reign*
1381- /1962-	al-Ḥasan II b. Muḥammad

From mediaeval times onwards, the *Shorfā'* of Morocco (classical form *Shurafā'*, sing. *Sharīf*) have played an outstanding part in the country's history. The Maghrib has often been receptive to the leadership of messianic or charismatic figures, and some of the most characteristic forms of popular Islam there have been the cult of holy men, saints and marabouts (< *murābiṭ*, see above, p. 28), and the formation of religious fraternities organised round the religio-military centres of the *zāwiyas*. The strength of maraboutism and the rise to social pre-eminence of the *Shorfā'* have been especially characteristic of Moroccan Islam, for Morocco, with its Atlantic seaboard and its proximity to Spain and Portugal, has borne the brunt of Christian attacks, and the Muslim reaction has been commensurately intense.

The *Sharīfs* are the descendants in general of the Prophet, but in Morocco, most of the lines of *Shorfā'* have traced descent from the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, and the Sa'dīs and Filālīs specifically traced their descent through al-Ḥasan's grandson Muḥammad an-Nafs az-Zakiyya (d. 145/762). The Idrīsids (see above, pp. 20-1) were the first line of *Sharīfs* to achieve power in Morocco, but in ensuing centuries various Berber dynasties were dominant there. However, the chance of the *Shorfā'* came in the sixteenth century when the Waṭṭāsids' power in Fez was clearly waning. From a base in the Sūs region of southern Morocco, the Sa'dī line of *Shorfā'* – who had come from Arabia in the later fourteenth century – gradually extended their power northwards, expelling the Waṭṭāsids from Fez in 956/1549. The full name and titles of the founder of the line's fortunes, Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Qā'im-bi-amr-Allāh, show

how messianic expectations and feelings of religious exaltation and *jihād* against the Christians, were utilised by the early Sa'dīs. Their authority was now imposed over almost the whole of Morocco, and the *Bilād al-Makhzen*, the area where the government's writ ran and where taxation and troops were raised, reached its maximum extent. The Turks of Algiers and the Portuguese in the coastlands were repulsed; and Aḥmad al-Manṣūr occupied Timbuctu and destroyed the African kingdom of Gao (on the Niger, in the modern republic of Mali), so that his authority extended for a time from Senegal to Bornu. The social and fiscal privileges of the *Shorfā'* were now further consolidated and confirmed by each new sultan on his accession.

However, the unity of the sultanate weakened in the seventeenth century, when independence movements appeared in various parts of Morocco, and the last Sa'dīs disappeared, despite English and Dutch help, by 1069/1659. The total disintegration of Morocco was prevented by the Filālī *Shorfā'* of Tāfilālt in eastern Morocco, whose leaders Maulāy ar-Rashīd and Maulāy Ismā'īl (*Maulāy* ='My lord') restored *Sharīfī* authority all through the land and built up a large standing army, which included a force of black slaves, *'Abīd al-Bukhārī* or *al-Bawākhir*. In the eighteenth century, the last foothold of the Portuguese was eliminated, and trade treaties were made with the northern European powers; but in the nineteenth century, any foreign penetration of Morocco was discouraged. Nevertheless, internal disorder grew in this period, and Morocco fought two disastrous wars against the French (1260/1844) and the Spanish (1277/1859-60). The French protectorate proclaimed in 1330/1912 saved Morocco from anarchy and from possible dismemberment by the European powers, although the conquest of the country by the French on the sultan's behalf took some twenty years. Finally, in 1375/1956 Morocco threw off the protected status and became once more independent, with the Filālī dynasty remaining as monarchs.

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⟨16⟩
The Sanūsiyya
1253– /1837–
Libya

1253/1837	Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Alī, as-Sanūsī al-Kabīr, founder of the Sanūsī order
1276/1859	Sayyid al-Mahdī
1320/1902	Sayyid Aḥmad ash-Sharīf (1336/1918 gave up military and political leadership, but retained spiritual primacy till his death in 1351/1933)
1336– /1918–	Sayyid Muḥammad Idrīs (initially as military and political leader; 1371/1951 became King Idrīs of Libya)

Muḥammad b. 'Alī, known as the 'Great Sanūsī', was born in Algeria towards the end of the eighteenth century. Whilst studying in Fez, he was much influenced by the dervishes or Ṣūfīs of Morocco, especially by those of the Tijāniyya order, and later, whilst further studying in the Ḥijāz, he joined several dervish orders himself. In addition to this inclination towards mysticism, he developed reformist and innovatory ideas, and in Mecca, organised his own *ṭarīqa* or order, the Sanūsiyya (1253/1837). Finding his homeland Algeria in process of being taken over by the French, he settled in Cyrenaica. Several *zāwiyas*, religious and educational centres for the Sanūsīs, were now founded there, including in 1272/1856 that of Jaghbûb near the Egyptian border; this was to be the headquarters of the order until 1313/1895, when it was moved southwards to the less accessible oasis of Kufra. The Sanūsī message appealed to the desert-dwellers of North Africa and the Sudan. Veneration for the person of the Grand Sanūsī accorded with the mara-

boutism and saint-worship of those regions, but the firm organisation of the order gave these enthusiasms lasting effect and purpose. Expectations of a coming Mahdī, who would restore the supremacy of pristine Islam, were also rife, as events in Dongola were to show in the Mahdiyya movement there of the eighteen-eighties and nineties. The Sanūsīs hoped for a reunion and regeneration of all Islamic peoples, and the Ottoman sultan 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd II hoped to recruit their support as part of a Pan-Islamic crusade. The Sanūsīs were, indeed, enthusiastic propagators of their ideas, and *zāwiyas* were founded in the Ḥijāz, Egypt, the Fezzān, and as far south as Wadai and Lake Chad, the faith following in this case the trans-Saharan caravan routes.

The Sanūsīs were in the forefront of Muslim opposition to the French advance into the central Sudan, and for some thirty years were to provide the spiritual and military driving-power for resistance to the invading Italians in Libya, especially in Cyrenaica. Italy's entry into the First World War in 1915 on the Allied side inevitably inclined the Sanūsīs towards the Turkish cause, and the head of the order, Sayyid Aḥmad, held on in Cyrenaica till 1918, departing then for Istanbul; the military direction of the Muslim cause in Cyrenaica was thereafter left largely to local Sanūsī leaders. During the Second World War, the British government recognised Muḥammad Idrīs, who had been an exile in Egypt for twenty years, not merely as a spiritual chief but also as Amīr or political and military leader of the Sanūsīs of Cyrenaica. In 1371/1951 he became king of the federated kingdom of Libya, comprising Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzān; in 1382/1963 it became a unitary state. Thus the process of the Sanūsī family's development from being heads of a religious movement to the headship of a modern Arab state is somewhat reminiscent of the Wahhābiyya and the Āl Sa'ūd in Sa'ūdī Arabia.

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